

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 EB-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

MBFR-04 SCEM-02 AEC-11 AID-20 DRC-01 NIC-01 COME-00

NEA-10 /204 W

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R 261747Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7663

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

USLO PEKING

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 13965

MOSCOW PASS SEC SHULTZ AND DEPUNDERSEC CASEY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, JA

SUBJECT: FORTHCOMING VISIT OF PREMIER TANAKA TO FRG

REF: A. STATE 186996; B. BONN 13748

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1. SUMMARY. FONOFF DIRECTOR OF EAST ASIAN SECTION,

HELLBECK, AND HIS DEPUTY, MATUSCHKA, BRIEFED EMBOFFS SEPTEMBER 24 ON FORTHCOMING (OCT.3-7) VISIT TO THE FRG OF PREMIER TANAKA AND FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA. HELLBECK SAID THERE WERE NO SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE FRG AND JAPAN AND THE MAIN VALUE OF THE VISIT WAS IN PROVIDING THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CHANCELLOR BRANDT AND PREMIER TANAKA TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF MATTERS OF COMMON INTEREST IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES. TOPICS LIKELY TO RECEIVE SPECIAL ATTENTION ARE:

(A) EAST-WEST DETENTE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF FRG'S EXPERIENCES WITH OSTPOLITIK AND JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH USSR.

(B) POSSIBILITY OF JAPANESE ASSOCIATION WITH US-EUROPEAN DECLARATIONS OF PRINCIPLES.

(C) ENERGY MATTERS.

(D) UNTYING OF DEVELOPMENT AID. END SUMMARY.

2. HELLBECK THOUGHT THAT EAST-WEST DETENTE WOULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS, IN LIGHT OF THE FRG'S OWN EXPERIENCES WITH ITS OSTPOLITIK AND CONSIDERING THAT TANAKA WOULD BE CONTINUING ON TO MOSCOW AFTER HIS VISIT TO BONN. THE JAPANESE WERE UNDOUBTEDLY INTERESTED IN FINDING OUT WHAT, IF ANYTHING, FROM THE NOW RATHER EXTENSIVE GERMAN EXPERIENCE IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIETS COULD BE USEFULLY APPLIED TO THE SOLUTION OF JAPAN'S PROBLEMS WITH THE USSR. HELLBECK THOUGHT THESE PROBLEMS COULD IN THE NEAR FUTURE BE QUITE CONSIDERABLE AND THAT THE TANAKA VISIT TO MOSCOW MIGHT HOLD SOME UNPLEASANT THINGS IN STORE FOR THE JAPANESE DELEGATION. SPECIFICALLY, HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD TRY TO GET THE JAPANESE TO ACCEPT A COMMUNIQUE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE TANAKA VISIT WHICH INTER ALIA WOULD CONTAIN LANGUAGE FAVORING THE HOLDING OF A CONFERENCE ON SECURITY IN ASIA AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. IT WOULD BE HARD FOR THE JAPANESE TO REJECT SUCH A PROPOSAL, OUT OF HAND, HELLBECK SAID, SINCE THEY HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF A CONFERENCE IN PRINCIPLE (ALBEIT NOT IN A STATEMENT ISSUED IN TANDEM WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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USSR).

3. THE SOVIETS, IN HELLBECK'S VIEW, HAD TWO PURPOSES. ONE WAS SIMPLY TO DO WHATEVER THEY COULD TO EMBARRASS JAPANESE EFFORTS TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. THE OTHER, WHICH WAS MORE IMMEDIATELY RELEVANT TO THE FORTHCOMING TALKS IN BONN, WAS TO TRY TO COMMIT JAPAN AS FAR AS POSSIBLE AND AT THE EARLIEST

POSSIBLE STAGE TO A SECURITY CONFERENCE, ONE PURPOSE OF WHICH WOULD BE TO SANCTIFY EXISTING BORDERS AND TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN ASIA. THE JAPANESE, OF COURSE, HAD THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE DESIRE TO AVOID SUCH A COMMITMENT UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE KURILES WAS SETTLED. FOR THIS REASON, HELLBECK THOUGHT, THE JAPANESE WOULD WANT A FAIRLY DETAILED DISCUSSION WITH THEIR EUROPEAN HOSTS ABOUT WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAPPEN IN CONSIDERATION OF BASKET ONE AT CSCE. MOREOVER, THEY WOULD PROBABLY PARTICULARLY WELCOME GERMAN VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT SINCE, OF ALL WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES, THE FRG HAS THE STRONGEST PARALLEL INTEREST IN AVOIDING A FIXING OF THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO IN

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ABSOLUTE TERMS.

4. HELLBECK SAID THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD CERTAINLY WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE DEVELOPING DIALOGUE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US AND ABOUT HOW, IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 SPEECH, JAPAN MIGHT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE INDUSTRIAL POWERS OF THE WEST. WHATEVER DISCUSSION THERE WAS ON THIS POINT, HELLBECK
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FELT SURE, WOULD TAKE PLACE AT A HIGH LEVEL OF GENERALITY, GIVEN THE STILL FRAGILE STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS ON US-EUROPEAN DECLARATIONS OF PRINCIPLES. ONLY ONE THING WAS SURE -- AND THAT WAS THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD NOT WANT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SECURITY ASPECTS OF SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING. HELLBECK COMMENTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE JAPANESE WERE CLEARLY TRYING TO AVOID IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES TOO CLOSELY WITH EITHER EUROPE OR THE US, IN THE HOPE OF PERSUADING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAT THEY WERE SOMEHOW CLOSER TO THEM. AS PROSPEROUS AS THEY WERE, THE JAPANESE DID NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BELONG TO A CLUB OF THE RICH. THIS MIGHT MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO FIT THEM IN.

5. HELLBECK NOTED INCIDENTALLY THAT WITH OHIRA'S PRESENCE, FORMAL BILATERAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL COULD BE HELD. THESE HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE SINCE 1971 OWING TO THE INABILITY OF THE TWO SIDES TO AGREE ON A DATE. THE GERMANS OBVIOUSLY FEEL THAT THE MAIN BURDEN OF BLAME FOR THIS SITUATION FALLS ON THE JAPANESE.

6. TWO ECONOMIC TOPICS WILL ALSO RECEIVE ATTENTION ACCORDING TO HELLBECK. FIRST ENERGY QUESTIONS WILL BE ON THE AGENDA, PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO PROBLEMS OF SUPPLY. HELLBECK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT QUESTIONS CONCERNING COOPERATION AMONG OIL CONSUMER COUNTRIES WOULD BE DISCUSSED BUT HE DOUBTED THAT ANY IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS WOULD BE MADE BY EITHER SIDE ON THIS TOPIC. JAPANESE AND FRG INVESTMENTS IN ARAB COUNTRIES AS WELL AS DOWNSTREAM INVESTMENTS BY ARAB GOVERNMENTS MIGHT ALSO BE CONSIDERED. SECOND,

HELLBECK INDICATED THAT THE QUESTION OF UNTYING
DEVELOPMENT AID FOR LDC'S WOULD BE THE OTHER MAJOR
ECONOMIC TOPIC UNDER DISCUSSION. HE DOUBTED THAT THE
JAPANESE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE ANY SIGNIFICANT
MOVE DURING THIS MEETING.

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